1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 is strictly kept, the prestige and authority of the lord are inevitably increased.

624 In small clans, when the T'u-ssu is a haughty and supercilious man, or an opium addict and gambler exacting in his demands for corvées and greedy for the money of his subjects, he is easily criticized and despised because the distance between him and his subjects is reduced, and the commoners get into open arguments with him, and rebel and accuse him in the Chinese court. In he lack of distance between the T'u-ssu and subjects and the waning authority of the T'u-ssu lies the secret of he fact that it is in the small clans that commoners most easily leave their chiefs, giving the Chinese officials the opportunity to reduce both commoners and T'u-ssu to he rank of Chinese subjects and to confiscate their teritory. It is no wonder that the clans which have disappeared are the small clans.

IV. THE VILLAGE

FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE

621 The Monguor village consists (1911–1922) of a
361 group of families living in a well defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the chief of the village. Since the villagers all till the soil and keep cattle, the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures.

Most farmers, however, live in small hamlets. The parilineal family system seems to favor this kind of grouping. When the paternal inheritance is divided, the sons build small houses near the old one, bring new lands under cultivation, and small groups of related families, living close together, spring up all over the territory.

Wealthy Monguors hire poor people to cultivate their fields and herd their cattle, and build small houses for them near their own. Wealthy Monguors also give in to the desires of their wives and daughters-in-law and allow poor relatives to build small houses near their own. They lend them cattle to plow their fields, and as they prosper the group increases and the hamlet grows into a village.

361 A third factor promoting the grouping of families
621 was, in the past, the chronic insecurity of the country, ravaged by recurring inroads of Tibetans and Mongols.
721 According to tradition the Monguors, when they first came into this territory, still lived in tents. At that time it was easy to pick up the tent and move out of the path of invasion; but once they began to live in houses, the houses had to be defended. Wealthy people in the outlying territory built a high thick mud wall around their houses. To these enclosures the poor families fled in time of trouble, helping in the defense of the small community. Wealthy people, therefore, liked to see the hamlet increased by the addition of poor families, who provided more manpower for defense. All over the country numerous ruins of strongholds are the enduring witnesses of the bad old times. [p. 736]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not a large place included between four strong, thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician." Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the appointment despite the memorial presented to the throne by minister Su Shih (*Annals* of Hsining 33B: 9, 10). The emperor preferred the time-honored policy of his predecessors sowing discord among tribes threatening the empire. He anticipated the annihilation of the tribes by themselves, and the easy recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. The tribes in favor of the legitimate offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo started a murderous struggle with the tribes following A li ku, backed by Chinese troops. Again the savage propensity for self-destruction among the tribes was soon in full sway and tribes tore themselves to pieces. The emperor granted titles to A li ku and his son and also to the offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo. A war of destruction went on until the death of A li ku in 1096, who had appointed his son as his successor. The appointment was again ratified by the emperor. This time all the T'u-fan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted against the empire. A strong army of 100,000 invited Hsi Hsia troops came to rescue them in Mao Ch'uan. A tremendous blow was administered to the Chinese. Then the Chinese general, in desperate straits, made an offer of settlement and invited some T'u-fan chiefs to appoint the son of Mou Cheng as chief of the tribes because, he said, he was the genuine offspring of Chiossulo!

But it was too late. The tribes did not abide by the decision of the chiefs and had become the irreconcilable enemies of China. Murderous fighting continued, the cities in Huangchung were taken and retaken several times and delivered to sack and slaughter by Chinese troops and then by the rebel tribes indulging in acts of gratuitous cruelty. Villages became clusters of ruined hovels. Many tribes disintegrating, groups of them fled to the southern part of East Kansu and to the borders of Kokonor, but the Chinese troops continued fighting against the Huangchung tribes associated with the Hsi Hsia until 1115, laying waste the whole country (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 1, 14; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 6, 7). At that time, the Chin empire embarking upon the conquest of China, the Chinese troops were ordered to leave Huangchung. Chin armies peacefully occupied Huangchung in 1131. Huangchung had enjoyed a period of glory and unusual wealth during fifty years (1036–1086) followed by forty-five years of internecine wars among the tribes and savage destruction of the country (1086–1131).

From 1131 until the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols in 1227, the history of Huangchung is a blank page. The conquest of East Kansu and the war with China and the Hsi Hsia absorbed the whole forces of the Chin emperor. An official appointed in Ho Chou in East Kansu by the Chin cared for the uninteresting, exhausted, and depleted tribes of Huangchung, with its ruined cities and villages and starving T'u-fan, Tanghsiang, Uighur and Shat'o population. It may be assumed that in these circumstances the pitiful tribes

[p.20(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

175x 712 175x 701 [327] 175x 708 659

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

175x 871

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

175x 712 346

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

175x 721 ● 648

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

[P.49(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

turing thirty horses (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*). The Wa-la tribes, afraid of the Chinese army, moved to a salt lake deeper into Kokonor. 175x 721● 648

In 1597, however, Kokonor brigands still raided surrendered Tibetan tribes in the Hsining region. They were vigorously repelled from the Mang-la valley (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52). Chih-li-ko, Ordos brigand, raided the borders of Huangchung; 60 of his brigands were killed and 3,300 surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*).

The same year Liu Mei-kuan and Lung-yin finished the editing of a set of new *Annals*. However, a note is added, no woodblocks had been carved, only a few texts existed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*; 27: 14, 15), and most of them were indecipherable. 175x 213

In 1598 the Ordos Mongol Ch'ih-li-ko intended to reoccupy and to pasture in Sung Shan. He was repelled and suffered a defeat in Liu Ko Chin. In the fifth moon he plundered the Wolanko region and was repelled again. In the fifth moon one of his tribes, the Shao-hai-hai tribe, surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*). In the seventh moon Generals T'ien Yueh and Ta Yun definitely cleared the Sung Shan region of brigands. The chieftains Pin-tu, A-shih-tu, Tsai-cheng, Chih-li-ko had long infested the Huangchung and East Kansu countries. This time the brigands were chased as far as 500 li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*). In the eleventh month the Mongol Hao-erh-ch'i occupied Sung Shan. The Chinese Commander Li Wen and surrendered Tibetan tribes repelled them and administered a severe blow. They built a wall as long as 400 li, indicating that Sung Shan belonged to China proper and was no longer the country of the barbarians (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 3*b*). 175x 648 [712]

In 1600 Sung Shan, the country from which during many years many raids had been perpetrated, was cleared of brigands and integrated into China. No more raids are recorded of Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in Huangchung. For some time the Ordos brigands tried to recover Sung Shan and make forays in East Kansu, T'ao and Ming Chou, Liangchow, Chengfan, Ninghsia, but Huangchung enjoyed relative and temporary peace.

Kokonor brigands having lost many tribes previously subject to them, raided T'ao and Ming Chou to subdue Tibetan tribes not yet surrendered to China. They suffered a severe blow and 5,000 Tibetans surrendered to China (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*).

The year 1604 is important in the history of lamaism in Huangchung. On the northwest of the so many times devastated Sa-t'ang valley, on the borders of one of the small affluents of the Sa-t'ang River, a Tibetan lama Diasai, belonging to the Saskya sect, started the building of the humble hermitage of Erh-ku-lung. The hermitage developed to the point that it became the first lamasery of Huangchung for many centuries and founded all over the country forty daughter monasteries. Its Living Buddhas, Chang Chia, T'u Kuan 175x 792 795